634
[131] The Outer Hebrides, a chain of islands over a hundred miles long which lie to the northwest of the Scottish mainland, are part of "Ross and Cromarty" and "Inverness," two of the seven crofting counties of Scotland (see Map A). The seven crofting counties [103] (Argyll, Inverness, Ross and Cromarty, Sutherland, Caithness, Orkney and Shetland) constitute the scenically beautiful but agriculturally marginal land often referred to as the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. 101 The word "Highland" also refers to features of social 197 life such as crofting tenure, strong community feeling and Gaelic-speaking which are characteristic of many communities in both the Highlands and Islands as well as in cities such as Glasgow in which persons from the Highlands and Islands have settled. For example, a Gaelic speaker whose parents came from the Islands and settled in Glasgow may be called a "Glasgow Highlander." The first four crofting counties listed above have a large percentage of Gaelic speakers. In the national [162] census of 1961, 82.3% of the 32,607 inhabitants of the Outer Hebrides were Gaelic speakers.

131 Lewis and Harris, a single body of land which is
133 sometimes referred to as two islands because the mountainous southern section called Harris differs markedly from the flat, northern moorland of Lewis, is the northernmost island in the Outer Hebrides (see Map B).

241
178 Crofting constitutes a dormant strategy which can be mobilized if deterioration of land has not proceeded too far, and if the skills of land use are not lost by succeeding generations who have grown up in an environment which presented them with more appealing strategies.

B. Social Marginality

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464 1. Linguistic Distinctiveness: Social marginality began when the Highlander had to leave his place of origin and go to the cities of the south in search of
[197] employment. The feature which most distinguished him was his Gaelic speech.

101
186 In Glasgow the common word for Highlander is
648 "teuchter," a slang word with derogatory implications which, according to one theory, developed when Gaelic speakers coming into English-speaking cities mispronounced the word "sugar" so that it sounded like "teuchter."
[829] (Glasgow Highlanders have developed their own defensive explanation: when the civilized Highlanders came down among the uneducated barbarians of the south, they came as tutors, a word which their uneducated Lowland pupils mispronounced.) According to a university student from the islands, the word was once used by the English to refer to the Scottish Lowlanders.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

PREFACE

IT was after the end of the First World War and the home-coming of the men—all too few in number after heavy losses—that I first came to know Lewis-and-Harris. Later, in the years between the two World Wars and during the Second World War, I returned to study the people's heritage and survey the Island problems and, if it might be, find solutions. Work on a West Highland farm had already made me aware of the hardships and potentialities of land and sea; of the meaning of life in field and home for farm-team and family; of the reality of the Gaelic heritage—communal, bardic and religious. Wider surveys made me aware of common elements throughout Scotland and the North and West of the British Isles, despite the historic contrasts from the Hebrides to the Lowlands, and beyond. In the Hebrides are found an elemental simplicity of environment; an early crystallisation of culture and religion, with continuity; a recent and contemporary coming of revolutionary change. These form an interpretative chain of evidence—geographical, traditional and historical—unique in the British Isles. Hence throughout this book, from the basic maps and explanatory text to the later chapters, an interpretation of the Island and its community is linked to that of the Highlands, Scotland and the British Isles as a whole.

As many a Scot of crofting stock has found, when he shares in the work of a glen by day—on the low ground and the hill, alone or with others of a team—and joins in the fireside talk and Gaelic song when night has fallen, he

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

discovers the strength of community life. And by his renewal of 'racial' experience he may rediscover sides of his own nature untouched by an urban task or a rural holiday. Hence a book such as this inevitably, and I think rightly, contains much that has been felt in a personal way. Yet to offset personal limitations, there is needed objective survey, geographical and social, applied with an open mind and submitted to searching criticism. These two sides, personal and impersonal, I have tried to combine.

The initiation of this work owes much to others, in ways of which they were never to know: to the chieftain, farmer and scholar, James Archibald Campbell of Barbreck, to my brother Alasdair, to my father, Patrick Geddes, who suggested in 1919 to the first Lord Leverhulme that Marcel Hardy, scientist and farmer, should survey the land in Lewis-and-Harris; to Lord Leverhulme, and to Dr. Hardy himself, whom I then assisted. To Mr. T. B. Macaulay, LL.D., was due the suggestion and the plea, made ten years later, that I should bring up to date Dr. Hardy's MS. report.

It was because of Dr. Macaulay's faith in the Island's future and the aid he generously gave to experiments in the reclamation of peat, and also because of the Islanders' own response to his lead, that I accepted this voluntary task. Acceptance, as it proved, was rash. Except for certain valuable findings included under Dr. Hardy's name, a new work had to be written. These circumstances led to the making of the book, stretched over thirty-five years. Certain early hopes recorded here have been frustrated. On the other hand, developments have taken place which few could have foreseen but for their faith in the future of the Island and its people. I trust that in this book the advantages of slow growth outweigh the drawbacks, for time

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

some by characteristics which may seem unique. But it will interest others by features of underlying universality. These might be compared to the Archaean rock, overlain toward the south-east by a succession of younger strata, but forming their foundation.

In this rocky land, the roots of Island life are laid bare; the rhythm of work responds to the day's weather and the cycle of the year. Yet the flowering of communal life in song and spiritual tradition may offer a fresh vision of regional, even of national, being. Indeed it is in characteristics latent in the evolution of the whole 'North and West' of the British Isles that Island life is most revealing.

Rising in imagination to a point above the summits of the Harris hills, and viewing the British Isles from the 'far' north-west, we gain a new perspective (Fig. 1). The Island below us is now the nearest; the 'Outer' Isles, the innermost. To us now, as to the Islesmen, their Island home is no mere fringe, but a heart of Britain.

Thence, looking to the lands across the Minch, each further from the Isles of home, there appear, in turn, three regions: (1) the rest of the Highlands and Isles; (2) the Lowlands and Uplands of Scotland; and (3) Ireland, Wales and Cornwall, and Northern England—all sculptured in rocks older than those of the Lowland or 'Plain' of England beyond. These three roughly concentric regions, from Harris to the edge of the 'Plain', may be grouped together with the intervening estuarine lowlands—not only Clydeside and the Solway but the 'firth-land' of Mersey-and-Deeside, and that of the Bristol Channel. To these, one might add the shores of an outer Minch, the *Manche* or 'English' Channel, which once linked Devon and Cornwall to Armorica. Beyond

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

101 133 Britain, on the horizon, the eye may descry the coasts of Scandinavia, the Low Countries, France and Iberia. This far-flung regional grouping within the British Isles—which extends for 800 miles from the Shetland to the Scilly Isles—may be called ' the North and West '.

Four border-lines may be drawn to bound these regions: the hill-foot ' Highland Line ', the Scottish Border, the border of Wales with the Pennine-and-Moorland-foot, and lastly, for the whole, a line drawn from the Severn to the Tees. Of these four lines (or border-tracts), the last, which divides the British Isles into two different types of landscape and life, is not the least significant. On one side lies the whole of ' the North and West ', with its isles and headlands, its mountains and hills, hewn in old rock, and its firthlands, straths and marginal, hill-foot lowlands, all sculptured markedly both by rivers and ice, and heaped with glacial drift. On the other lies the ' Plain ' of south-eastern England, or simply ' the South-east ', of which the low scarplands of younger rocks slope smoothly down to mainly river-sculptured vales, and are bounded by smoother coasts.[1]

133 131 Geographically, this succession is one of complexes with recurrent features of height and hollow, land and sea, rather than of sharply defined blocks; its marches are tracts of transition rather than boundary lines. But essential characters of the two zones are revealed by the main boundary

823 [1] Strictly, the alternation of vales with wolds and downs, which characterises England south-east of the Pennines, would justify the term ' lowland '; but with our Scottish and Highland perspective, the English ' lowland ' appears a ' plain ', and for simplicity, the ' Plain ', or simply ' the South-east ', is used throughout this book. The physical and geological maps of the British Isles in an atlas may serve to illustrate this perspective; they should be viewed from the north-west by turning the map with the north-west islands towards one, and the plains of England and the Continent furthest away.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

3. *The Significance of Lewis-and-Harris*

The Highlands and Western Isles today, "The Land of the Gael", may thus be grouped as two regions. The North-west is mainly of 'township crofting' and distant from the Lowlands—the other mainly of farming, living nearer to the Lowlands and in touch with them. Throughout the North-west, Gaelic is still the common speech, even of the children. The old community feeling is strong; it is that, indeed, which keeps the people attached to the villages.

From the plains and cities of the South it is a far cry to *Ultima Thule*, as Lewis, like Zetland, is sometimes called even by its own people. Lying some twenty-five to thirty miles across the Minch from the mainland, its nearest links with the South lie even farther away. From Stornoway it is some seventy-five miles to Kyle of Lochalsh, the railhead for Inverness and North-east Scotland, and 100 miles to Mallaig, the railhead for Fort William and Glasgow. To reach Stornoway over the moors from the west coast townships is itself a journey. Stornoway is the Island's only port, though passengers are put off at Tarbert, at Stockinish and at Rodel in Harris. Isolation has always been a dominant factor in the Island's life. From prehistory through the Middle Ages to modern times, that factor played its changing part.

In Lewis, conditions had changed less than elsewhere during the last century; for example, the *New Statistical Account* of South-west Argyll in 1830-35 reads like a description of conditions in Lewis as they were until after 1914! Hence, as already said, the contrasts are very great indeed in the aspect of the country, its fields and houses, and in the number, character and ways of the people. It

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

Before the making of roads, it was ease of sailing which united island peoples and their territories. One can wade or drive, at low tide, over the fords that unite the Isle of Benbecula with the two Uists, North and South: in fact, a bridge now connects Benbecula with South Uist. But only the roughest of hill tracks led through the hills of North Harris from the 'Tarbert' or Isthmus of Harris to the nearest habitation at the head of Loch Seaforth or Loch Erisort, in the Lews. This is a distance of some twenty miles, or a fair day's tramp for an unloaded man, and far too much for a return journey in one day. Hence separation of territory and name was natural. This separation no longer exists as there is now a good 'bus service from Rodel via Tarbert to Stornoway which links Harris with the daily Kyle to Stornoway steamer. In this book, the Island, or the Islanders, refers to Lewis-and-Harris with its people, as one.

Lewis is included in Ross-shire (of which the county town is Dingwall, north of Inverness) and Harris in Inverness-shire, together with the rest of the 'Long Island'. The county boundary cuts across the six-mile isthmus north of the hills of North Harris, from the in-reaching Loch Seaforth WNW. to Loch Resort (Fig. 8). All the Outer Hebrides are now included in the Parliamentary constituency of the Western Isles. Proposals to unite the Island under one District Council, or the Outer Hebrides under one County Council, are more favourably viewed in Stornoway than in Harris or the Southern Isles. Harris forms one civil parish, while Lewis is divided into four: Stornoway, Barvas, Uig and Lochs. The Lewis parish boundaries traversing the moors are inset in Fig. 8 so that their trends can be readily grasped, and the inhabited portions of the parishes quickly located (p. 50).

THE ENVIRONMENT

13 The district of Park lies in the parish of Lochs in south-east Lewis, almost cut off from the
101 rest of Lewis and Harris by Loch Erisort to the north and Loch Seaforth to the west. The district may be divided into two regions by Loch Shell and the valley to the west: this subdivision is meaningful physically, historically and from the socio-economic point of view.

13 The northern part of Park is a low, mamillated, ice-scraped plateau at an average altitude of 250 feet and a maximum altitude of about 450 feet, developed on Lewisian gneiss, a resistant acid rock of Pre-Cambrian age. Glacial erosion has scoured the area and expanses of bare rock are everywhere apparent. Coarse drift deposits are scattered throughout the area, but are more continuous along the southern shores of Loch Erisort between Shieldernish and Caversta, and at the head of Loch Ouirn. The cool, humid oceanic climate has led to the widespread accumulation of peat, and in the interior there are extensive areas of blanket bog. The Minch coast is rugged with cliffs attaining a height of 350 feet at Kebock Head, but there are several sheltered bays and inlets around which the crofting townships cling to the steep slopes. Along the more sheltered shores of Loch Erisort cliff features are almost absent and the physical landscape is less harsh and uninviting.

The mountainous area south of Loch Shell, an eastward continuation of the North Harris hills, attains a height of 1,885 feet. Glacial erosion has had more spectacular effects than in northern Park and corries and glacially modified valleys are numerous. Southern Park is now uninhabited but during the early nineteenth century a small population was scattered round the shores of the peninsula on areas of drift deposits.

There are no climatic statistics for Park, but the Stornoway figures can reasonably be applied to northern Park. The mean annual temperature for Stornoway is 47°F. ranging from 41°F in January and February to 56°F. in July. The mean annual rainfall in Stornoway is 50 inches, with May and June the driest months, but on average there are 260 rainy days. Wind, however, is the most notable element in the climate: an average of 155 days have gusts exceeding 38 m.p.h.

Soils are thin and immature, except on isolated patches of deeper drift: vegetation is dominated by heather (calluna vulgaris) purple moor grass (molinia) and sphagnum, and there are few trees, stunted rowans being almost the only species; trees are confined to islands in lochs and cliffs inaccessible to stock.

861 The aspect of Park is thus one of desolate moorland, and the human communities are without exception distributed round the coasts; the Minch coast townships are situated on sheltered bays or inlets and it is clear that the harvest of the sea was the original attraction rather than the agricultural possibilities on steeply sloping, rocky terrain.

18 Park is the most isolated area of Lewis apart from South-west Uig. A sea-journey of only nine miles separates Lemreway in the south from Stornoway but the overland distance is 36 miles, which takes more than two hours by the daily bus service. Until 1924, there was no through-road beyond Habost although the Congested Districts Board provided a grant for the making of a road between Gravir and Cromore in 1901; in 1913 this road was extended to Garyvard. With the coming of the road, and the decline in the numbers of fishing boats, the people of Park have ceased to travel to Stornoway by sea. In terms of distance, Park is now more isolated than ever before.

101 Isolated, poor agriculturally, and without any industry, Park is a "Region of Difficulty" with
13 a rapidly declining population; basically the environment has little to offer in the twentieth
10 century.

6: Ducey E-4,5 (1953-1954) 1956 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Skye

ABSTRACT

Cultural Continuity and Population Change on the Isle of Skye

Paul Richard Ducey

This study is concerned with the effect of population change on the culture of the essentially peasant society of the Isle of Skye, one of the Hebrides of Scotland. Standing on the very fringe of Western Europe, this particular surviving remnant of the once widespread Celtic culture has experienced a familiar consequence of the impingement of the social and economic forces of urban and industrial Western Civilization. Involvement in the process of westernization brought a rapid, accelerating increase in the size of the population. Failure to make the required cultural adjustments led to persistent depopulation. From the many problems created by the swing of the population pendulum, this study singles out one of particular anthropological significance. The thesis is that population change is not necessarily a criterion of cultural discontinuity. Although one case study cannot prove this assertion, future research along similar lines in other cultures marginal to the main stream of Western Civilization may reveal a wider applicability of the thesis. The material presented in the present study was collected during a year of field and library research in 1953 - 1954.

The approach to the problem is oriented toward the culture history of the Skyemen. Following a brief comparative description of the contemporary culture, an attempt is made to reconstruct

6: Ducey E-4.5 (1953-1954) 1956 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Skye

PREFACE

121 The problem which I have attempted to treat in this study concerns the question of the effect of population change, both increase and decrease, on an essentially peasant population living on the very fringe of Western Europe in one of the last remaining outposts of the Gael. My interest in this problem, stimulated to no small degree by Dr. Conrad M. Arensberg and my wife, stems from an old curiosity about the nature and function of the Highland clan system and the characteristics of a small, [101] dying remnant of a once widespread culture. My wife and I went to Scotland in June, 1953 to conduct field research on the Isle of Skye with the presupposition that the old culture had not withered and disappeared, even if it had been seriously modified by outside influences, especially those flowing in from the [101] wider society of Great Britain. We remained on the Island until March, 1954, when we turned our attention to library research and exiled Skyemen in Glasgow.

122 The research embodied in my dissertation was made possible by financial assistance from Columbia University, in the form of a William Bayard Cutting Traveling Fellowship; from the Social Science Research Council, in the form of a Research Training Fellowship; and from the United States Educational Commission in the United Kingdom, in the form of a Fulbright Scholarship. I

a wider applicability of my thesis. The evidence in support of my assertion was collected on the culture history of the Isle of Skye, a part of the area known as the Highlands and Islands of Scotland.

Since I shall frequently speak of the Highlands and Islands in the following pages, we should have a precise definition of the region (Figure 1). Geographically, the Highland boundary should be placed at the Great Highland Fault, a series of geological faults which extend across Scotland from the River Clyde to Stonehaven, south of Aberdeen. Politically and economically, however, this line has receded to the north and west. Since 1883 it has been common in Scotland to equate the Highlands and Islands with the "Seven Crofting Counties," those counties in which the predominate form of land use is the crofting system. Crofting may be defined as a system of hereditary tenure of a few acres of arable land combined with common tenure of hill grazings. These counties are: Argyll, Inverness, Ross and Cromarty, Caithness, Sutherland, Orkney, and Zetland. Out of the 163 parishes in these counties only 12 are considered non-crofting.[1] In addition to this shared socio-economic pattern, the seven counties have experienced common economic-geographical influences, a century of accelerating population growth, followed by a century of persistent depopulation.

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[1] Adam Collier, The Crofting Problem: A Social and Economic Study (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), p. 11n. A parish in Scotland is an ecclesiastical district which until 1929 was also a civil unit with self-government in such local affairs as education, relief for the poor and infirm, and health. If the British county is thought of as analogous to an American state, the parish can be thought of as a county, but one devoid of any function.

101 The Highlands and Islands are often divided into a Western and an Eastern subregion. The Western Highlands include all of the Hebrides and, approximately, the western half of the counties of Sutherland, Ross and Cromarty, Inverness, and Argyll. This leaves the remainder of the seven crofting counties, including the islands of Orkney and Shetland, to the Eastern [132] Highlands. The seventy-two parishes of the Western Highlands have been isolated by physical barriers from communication with Great Britain. Here, too, differences of race, language, and culture have continued to distinguish the people from the other Scots. With this rudimentary delimitation of the areas in mind, let us briefly review their population cycles.

161 When Alexander Webster, then Moderator of the Church 162 of Scotland, compiled his enumeration of the population of Scotland in 1755, the Highlands contained 257,183 people, and the Western Highlands had a population of 114,884. In terms of percentages, the total region, 47 percent of Scotland, had 20.3 percent of Scotland's population, and the subregion, 29 percent of Scotland, had 9.1 percent of the national population. By 1831, despite chronic emigration, the population of the Western Highlands rose to 200,955 (see table 1) but there had been a decline to 8.5 percent of the national total. In 1841 the total Highland population reached a peak of 396,045, but now only 15.1 percent of the Scots were Highlanders. By 1851 depopulation had begun. The Highlanders in the West had decreased in numbers to 190,728 and those in the whole area, to 395,540. From that day to this depopulation has been continuous. Although the 1951 census is still above Webster's

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 6]

161 count, the number of people living in the Highlands has de-
162 clined 27.8 percent to 285,667, and those in the Western Highland, 40.7 percent to 119,071. Today the Highlanders represent only 5.6 percent, and the Westerners, only 2.3 percent of the population of Scotland.

Even though depopulation in the Western Highlands has gone at a faster rate than for the Highlands as a whole, it has not been typical of the entire subregion. William Hance, an economic geographer, has recently pointed out that "the assumption has too often been made that ...e Islands (the Outer Hebrides) have been depopulated at the same rate as the counties to which they belong and the Highlands as a whole."[2] He clearly demonstrates the contrasting increase of population in the Outer Isles, up to 1911, and the persistent decline elsewhere in the area. Again, within the last two decades, there has been an increase in population in the developing industrial area at the western extremity of the Great Glen, while depopulation has continued in all other parts of the subregion.

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162 The Isle of Skye, the island with which I shall be concerned in my dissertation, cannot be regarded as typical of the Highlands or of the Western subregion. I rather regard it as standing in an intermediate position, geographically, demographically, and culturally. It rises from the Sea of the Hebrides between the Outer Isles to the west and the Mainland to the east. As we have just seen, depopulation is

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[2] William A. Hance, The Outer Hebrides in Relation to Highland Depopulation (New York: By the author, 1949), p. 18.

101 more recent to the west, and in the industrial area of the
161 Great Glen the trend is reversing itself. To the north and
162 south depopulation has been more serious. To the east the general trend has been similar to that of Skye. We need not be troubled by statistics at this time, but for convenience
[178] the population figures are given in Table 1. The Outer Hebrideans have preserved more of the social aspect of the old culture than the Skye people while the Mainlander has felt the effects of the processes of acculturation with more obvious results than the people of Skye. In short, the Highlands are not a homogeneous region. They represent a great diversity of conditions.

101 My information on the contemporary culture of the Isle
115 of Skye was provided by the residents of three communities, the villagers of Portree and the crofters of Glendale and
101 Kilmuir. Portree is a small nucleated village with a popu-
621 lation of a thousand. It is important to the study because
[368] in many ways it represents an alien way of life. Here are found the county and national government offices, staffed mainly by newcomers to Skye, which serve the whole island.
[34] Here too, are the grocery, drug, clothing, and hardware stores which depend on the people of at least, northern Skye
[34] for a large part of their trade. There are a number of craftsmen who are equally dependent on the rural population. For the most part, the members of both groups are newcomers
[368] from the Lowlands or elsewhere in the Highlands. As the
[365] terminus for the mail steamer which links Skye with the mainland, and the hub of the daily bus service which connects the rural

hinterland with the outside world, Portree is a center for tourists during the summer. Due to the people's dependence on tourism and also the presence of newcomers, the villagers participate in a number of social activities which are not tolerated elsewhere on the island because of religious asceticism.

Glendale and Kilmuir are crofting communities, each with a population of about 300. All, except the ministers and school teachers, are dependent on the breeding of cattle and sheep and the growing of a limited amount of grain, potatoes and hay for all or a large part of their livelihood. All are bilingual, speaking Gaelic and English. Neither community has a village nucleus, but both have an economic focus. Glendale has a cooperative farm, and Kilmuir has a drained loch which has been divided among the small farmers. The significant differences between them are three. The Glendale people are land owners. In this respect they are rather unique in the Highlands. The Kilmuir residents, like most Highlanders, rent their crofts. The second difference is religious. Glendale is religiously homogeneous while Kilmuir includes church-goers of three Presbyterian sects. Finally, no formal social activities other than an annual meeting of the share-holders in the farm is allowed in Glendale, but Kilmuir has a club organization for the men who gather for lectures and discussions of economic problems.

114 It is only in the distant past and comparatively recent times that governmental inquiries and enactments give a glimpse into the culture. For well over a hundred years after the abolition of the clan system the British government showed no inclination to become involved in the local situation. While the American colonists rebelled because taxation without representation was no less than tyranny, the Islanders suffered in silence under the laws of the Kingdom. Two works, however, [127] do give a picture of life on Skye. These are the (Old) Statistical Account of Scotland and the New Statistical Account of Scotland.[1]

121 The conceptual scheme which has been adopted to reduce national history to culture history takes two points of departure.[2] On the one hand, there are four well defined periods marked by innovations in the economic, social, and religious aspects of the culture and varying rates of population change. On the other hand, there are the overall trends of culture and population change and the continuity of the culture. The 101 #175 dates selected to mark the beginning of each period are: 1745, 1811, 1845, and 1886. The year 1745 is the conventional date for the beginning of the modern period of Highland history. It also marks the beginning of a prolonged period of population

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[1] The Statistical Account of Scotland, ed. Sir John Sinclair (21 vols.; Edinburgh: William Creech, 1790-1799); and The New Statistical Account of Scotland, Vol. XIV: "Inverness - Ross and Cromarty" (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1845). I shall refer to these works as OSA and NSA.

[2] I am indebted to Julian Steward for the general approach which follows.

101 growth. In 1811 the first alterations in the traditional system
175 of land use were made. A religious revival was underway. The former social hierarchy had almost disappeared, and population growth accelerated. The year 1845 witnessed a cultural upheaval and a reorientation of the culture. The state church had been broken by schism. Famine was widespread. Large scale commercial farming was replacing the subsistence economy, and the population began to decline. In 1886 the government passed the first law specifically designed for the Highlands since the beginning of the modern period. Commercial farming was restricted in favor of the traditional economy. Within a few years religious schism again appeared. Population decline accelerated and the age structure began to be modified in the direction of an aging population.

Period I (1745 - 1811)

175 The failure of the "forty-five" is popularly regarded as
178 marking the end of the clan system as a social and economic
648 entity and the heralding of the beginning of the modern period of Highland history. In reality, the break with the past was not as sudden or complete as is commonly thought. The clan organization had undergone profound modification and functionally was in a state of decay before the abortive rebellion provoked the British government to administer the coup de grace. The event was only the catalyst which hastened the political and economic assimilation of the region with the Lowlands of Scotland. In retrospect, the reforms and innovations which